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ABSTRACT

Relying upon the conceptual constructs from international relations, politics, and sociology, this study analyzes education policy and political socialization processes in the developing multiethnic/national societies with specific reference to Pakistan. The paper descriptively analyzes Pakistan social studies curriculum as an instrument of socialization that reflects the impact political changes at the national level have had on the curriculum during the Cold War era. The paper also provides a trend analysis of successive Pakistani governments and their perceptions of a national identity as demonstrated in the curriculum. (DB)

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ETHNONATIONAL QUESTIONS, EDUCATIONAL REFORM, AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: CASE OF PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

In the nation-state context and relying upon the conceptual constructs from international relations, politics, and sociology this study analyzes education policy and political socialization processes in the developing multiethnic/national societies with specific reference to Pakistan. Part two descriptively analyzes Pakistan Social Studies curriculum as an instrument of socialization illuminating the impact political changes at the national level have on the curriculum during the Cold War era. Part three provides a trend analysis of successive Pakistani governments and their perceptions of national identity demonstrated in the curriculum.

The paper concludes that despite the domestic orientation of education policy and political socialization within the nation-state, these processes have cross-national impact and ramifications. Considering the revitalization of the traditional principle of ethnonational legitimacy in the post-Cold War international politics, the author holds that, as a consequence of this new trend, "ethnocultural pluralism" rather than "cultural pluralism" may be the dominant aspect in international development education assistance programs and policies in the newly emerging world order. With this background, the author prescribes specific strategies of educational reform in the national social studies curriculum of Pakistan. Ethnocultural reform in the education policy, among other policy reforms, may ensure domestic harmony and cohesion with a positive infuluence on the international security of south Asia.

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ETHNONATIONAL QUESTIONS, EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: CASE OF PAKISTAN

Aftab A. Kazi

I. Introduction:

The post-World War II era has witnessed the formation of several theories describing the role of international development education and its subsystems[1], however, little effort has been made to address international relations in education. Comparative experiments in nation and state-building, international cultural and educational exchanges, and various forms of interstate and organizational development cooperation offer enormous insights for theory formation in the foundations of international development education[2]. These theories are necessary to understand mulitdimensional processes of educational reform in the post-Cold War era both for the purposes of international security and status quo, and for development education itself. This study addresses the impact ethnonational questions have in the education policy areas as related to the nation-state building processes in develpoing societies, specifically Pakistan.

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[1]By sub-systems, the author refers to the various disciplinary programs under international development education operating worldwide, an off-spring of the overseas development education.

[2]Perhaps it is time to re-conceptualize and theoretically analyze various developments in international development education.

In the nation-state context as a unit of international analysis, two types of nation-states have emerged in the post-war II era: "nations with history" and "nations without history"[3]. After independence, the task of nations with history has primarily been that of nation-building while nations without history have the double task of both nation-building and state-building. Their bonds of statehood were based on their brief colonial experience rather than the historical processes of national evolution -a process they have recently initiated. Most "nations without history" experience serious problems in overall development ranging from underdeveloped socio-economic infrastructures to uneven bounderies, divided ethnic groups and nationalities[4], political frameworks of minority affairs, and rural urban differences.

Despite the conflicting political interests of diverse

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[3]"Nations with history" are historically evolved culturally homogenous or relatively homogenous, and "nations without history" are newly created entities with groups of "nations with history".

[4]The terms ethnic nationalities and ethnic groups in relation to developing societies should be clearly defined. In the United States, the term ethnic group is commonly used for people of different national backgrounds, whereas the term "ethnic nationalities is relatively uncommon, simply because of the long term efforts to develop the consensus of an American nationality. The people of different national origins are treated as ethnic groups in an American sense but who otherwise hold backgrounds as historically evolved ethnic nationalities outside the United States. Thus, there are no ethnic nationalities in United States, only the ethnic groups, whereas most other developing societies are composed of both the historically evolved nationalities and the ethnic groups originating for thousands of years inside their borderlands. This presents the fundamental problem of analytical misperception of social realities in United States and other societies. This has led to difficulties in conceptualizing these basic differences leading to a phenomenological conflict over the nature of modern nation-state system, as practiced in the industrially advanced societies and the multi-ethnic/national developing societies.

nationalities and groups, the leadership of modern nation-states, within the parameters of their sociopolitical culture has been serious in promoting the state nationalism either through educational socialization and economic development incentives, or through coercive means adapted under primordial or instrumentalistic paradigms (coercive policies do not necessarily mean use of force but various forms of nonconsesual nature of policy implementation). Considerable achievements towards the national building and transitional stages of education and socioeconomic change has generated new impediments to progress. Nationalism once the source of inspiration for independence now represents new forms of sub-nationalisms aimed at sociopolitical reordering. The sociocultural conflict resulting from the application of a single nation ideology to the multinational character of the developing nation state appears to hinder not only the path of national development, but consequent sub-nationalisms with their cross-national ramifications, threaten the national and international security policies including education policies.

Amidst the comparative ideological warfare during the Cold War, the sole emphasis on socioeconomic interpretations of political issues overshadowed the processes of political development challenging the distinct historical political legitimacy of many national groups. Education policies designed for national integration and cohesion appear to have rationalized the perceptions of the diverse ruling elite rather than the logical principle of consensual need satisfaction and multicultural socialization, thus limiting the scope of education.

Suspension of hostilities between the superpowers, a worldwide trend towards relative democratization, realization of conflict resolution, and projections for a considerably fair new world order seem to have revitalized the questions of ethnonational political legitimacy. These new developments to a considerable degree have contradicted the previously popular claims of the homogenous nature of most newly created "nations without history" offering the opportunity to some degree for redressing the historically legitimate questions. Education policy traditionally treated as an instrument of political socialization at the national level, in view of the emergent trends must resolve and accomodate the ethnonational questions to strengthen the political development of the nation-state, for the cross national ramifications of cultural, educational, social, and political exchanges of these issues, in a world of highly advanced technological communication, can impinge upon the stability of the emerging new world order.

What are the reasons that educational policies, originally designed to broaden the national socialization, become sociocultural impediments for local and national development? How strong is the correlation between the ongoing political changes and education policy in a multinational developing society ? Can redressing cultural issues in education policy alone be a factor in strengthening the processes of national building in the Post-Cold War era? In the context of political culture, this study addresses these questions as they relate to the need for educational reform in Pakistan.

For reasons of sociopolitical culture and the modernization

influence, the operating federal systems and their socialization trends in most developing societies are relatively similar, ~~in most development related areas~~. Despite the multinational character of these societies, their ruling elite is often comprised of representatives from one or two ethnic groups or nationalities, or one ethnic group in collaboration with an immigrant elite who dominate the reigns of the government. The personal ideology of the ruling elite becomes the official ideology of the state, and educational policies appear to be a manipulation of this ideology. The official ideology often changes with every change in the government. The case of education policy in Pakistan is a case in point.

Thus, the basic ~~assumption~~ THESIS for this study is that the emphasis on the principle of political legitimacy and sociocultural aspects in the education policy areas and socialization processes may assure positive results towards the goal of national integration in the post-Cold War era based on the following considerations:

1. During the Cold War era, the nonconsensual implementation of the sociocultural perceptions of the minority ruling elite has led to a sense of relative deprivation and "an expectations and achievements conflict" frustrating the majority of component nationalities in the society. Their aggressive disapproval of these policies is on record.

2. Amidst the conflict of perceptions among the multinational groups of societies during the Cold War era, the dominant ruling elite has considerably established its power base by controlling

major institutions of societies, which under the existing international order cannot be challenged effectively by the dominated groups, albiet it can cause constant political instability. Key to sociopolitical and educational reformation lies with no one but only the ruling elite.

3. With their existing stronghold over the power base, the dominant elite should not be hesitant to accomodate diverse ethnic nationalities and other groups in the political framework in order to avoid further instability. Educational reform based on legitimate multinational participation alongwith considerable political representation and with even broader cultural freedom could be the most effective instrument of political socialization for national stability and international order and for controlling the impact of cross national ethnonational upheavals.

Moreover, the transitional period since independence (during the Cold War era) has seen an accumulation of hard working and ambitious immigrant groups in many developing societies. Most governments have not provided them incentives to assimilate in the sociocultural atmosphere of the regions they live, which leads to hostilities among both the native and the immigrant elite. Due to the lack of concrete efforts for inter ethnic socialization, the immigrant groups still have not acquired a sense efficacy for the land they live and remain in constant search for their identity. Their sociocultural needs can be satisfied on the basis of human needs theory but at the same time not at the cost of the violation of traditional political legitimacy of the native nationalities. Such violations were commonly seen during the Cold War era; their

continuation could jeopardize the very essence of the emergent new world order.

Part two of this paper discusses the Cold War era educational socialization policies by analyzing the social studies curriculum in Pakistan with an emphasis on the correlation between the political and educational changes in Pakistan. Part three summarizes the cultural impediments and offers few specific suggestions for educational reform in Pakistan.

II. Political Changes And Education Policy:

Many multinational nation-states, despite their lack of the traditional attribute of modern nationalism do at least possess one or more cohesive factors, and have relied on education policy to develop a nationalistic value system. Among the other instruments of education policy these states have utilized one of the most powerful tools of national social studies curriculum, to enhance the national culture and value system aiming to strengthen the consensus for national building among the younger generation of society. Sources of this socialization planning are logically driven from the sociocultural and historical heritage of the society. While the industrially advanced societies have learned over the years, developing nation-states are learning from their national building proceses that an equitable portrayal and representation of all national groups and identities in the national curriculum simply fosters the processes of national integration. Intercultural socialization largely depends on the integrative tendencies and strategies by the ruling elite. This

part of the study analyzes the sociocultural perceptions and tendencies of various ruling elite reflected in the standard secondary school social studies curriculum in Pakistan.

As a multiethnic/national nation-state residuary Pakistan consists of five major ethnic nationalities, i.e., Baluchi, Pathan, Punjabi, Siraiki, and Sindhi along with nearly fifty other ethno-lingual native groups. In addition, after the partition of the state of India in 1947, approximately four million Urdu speaking Muslim refugees from India were settled in the Sindh province. At the time of independence, while East Bengal, Punjab and Sindh formally acceeded to Pakistan, leaders of Baloch and Pathan area were hesitant in the absence of an agreed upon political framework for the new state and nonetheless were compelled to join the new nation-state. Moreover, the federal government's unilateral decision to settle most of the refugee population in the Sindh province and declare Urdu as the only national language caused immediate unrest in the four nationality provinces of Sindh, Bengal, Baluchistan, and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pathans. The role of Urdu as lingua-franca would not have been challenged as the national language, had it not been imposed by disputing the historical and cultural legitimacy of the native languages. However, the absence of seriousness towards the sociopolitical ordering generated several societal conflicts culminating into a variety of cultural nationalisms among the diverse nationalities of Pakistan. Over the years this has led to a number of human tragedies, some of which still exist as the major cause of poltical instability, altering the perception of ethnic

population regarding the state.

Since independence in 1947, the state of Pakistan has witnessed five distinct political transitions responsible for specific changes in the national social studies curriculum, each reflecting often diverse perceptions of socialization and integration representing ideology of the particular power elite. Ideological perceptions of the Pakistani nation-state differ between the most conservative "Islamic state", or the relatively liberal "Muslim state" notions, and inter ethnic socialization tendencies present a conflict between the "assimilationist" , and the "unity in diversity" paradigms. The ideological conflict within the social studies curriculum and implementation strategies appear to have arrested the opportunities of inter ethnic socialization, but has blocked the growth of national character and the sentiment for Pakistani nationalism. Consequently, the Pakistani nationalities, who once took pride in the Pakistan independence movement now hold differing opinions concerning the future of the new nation-state. The ongoing crises are reflective of their changing perceptions. The relationship between political changes and education policy especially the national social studies curriculum can be summarized in the following major transition eras:

1 . The Early Establishment and Pre-One Unit Era (1947-1955), ruled for a short period of time by Quid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinah succeeded by Liaqat Ali Khan, his Prime Minister, witnessed several unilateral conconsensual political and sociocultural decisions.

2. The One Unit Era (1955-1968), nonconsensuously united all

Pakistani ethnic nationalities into a single administrative unit. This era witnessed the end of the then poorly operating civilian system followed by the military rule of General Muhammad Ayub Khan.

3. The Post-One Unit and Civilian Era (1968-1977), which includes the short transitional rule by Agha General Muhammad Yahya Khan witnessed the abolition of the One Unit scheme that reestablished ethnic identities, and independence of East Pakistan as Banla Desh alongwith the establishment of the civilian government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the Rump West Pakistan. During this era, under the instructions of General Yahya Khan an enquiry commission -popularly known as Noor Khan Commission- was established to study the educational problems and sociocultural issues. The commission's recommendations were implemented under by the elected government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

4. The Post Civilian Era (1977-1989) began with the rule of General Zia-ul-Haq and emphasized Islamization in most national policy areas including the field of education.

5. New Civilian Era (1989 to Present) (following the death of General Zia-ul-Haq in a plane crash) witnessed the indirect transitional military rule under President Ghulam Ishaq Khan followed by the two elected governments of Prime Ministers Ms. Benazir Bhutto (who ruled shortly), and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, who currently heads the government. While Ms. Bhutto was too busy with the task of consolidating her government though without much success, Mr. Sharif's government appear to be comfortable with the continuation of the policies of the Post Civilian Era along the fundamentalist Islamic lines. No particular effort appear to have

been taken to address the role of education policy in socialization.

The Early Establishement Era witnessed both the spirit of the Pakistani national movement and the power struggle among the indigenous and immigrant leadership. During this founding phase, the national social studies curriculum (taught separately as history, geography, and civics) treated the Pakistani nationalities in a relatively equitable way with a "unity in diversity" perspective. Integrative tendencies seem centrifugal reflecting consensus as the socialization mechanism. Such tendencies are noticeable in various history books treating Pakistan as a garden and its nationalities and groups as different flowers in the garden. Emphasis on indigenous history and culture seems to be represented proportionately indicating considerable respect for cultural plurality presenting the historical sites and facts accurately. Individual accounts of the history, politics, and culture of all principle nationalities and groups and their contributions to the independence movement have been equitably treated. Short details on indigeneous movements such as the Hurr Movement, the War of Miani, resistence of Raja Ranjit Singh in Punjab, and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the frontier province are objectively cited. Not only are indigenous nationalities represented in the texts, but several Hindu leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and others have been cited for their contributions.

During this era the indigenous languages were the medium of

instruction in both primary and secondary schools and Urdu as the national language was taught as a compulsory subject from the fifth grade onwards. The curriculum of the first era was based on respect for cultural plurality.

The One Unit Era witnessed the post Jinah power struggle among various political groups. Jinah's successor Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, who migrated from India, lacked political constituency in the Pakistan territory. He thus concentrated on settling various refuge groups primarily in the Hyderabad and Karachi areas and organized these groups emphasizing the conservative notion of "Islamic State" rather than the "Muslim state" as envisaged in the Pakistan Resolution. Declaration of Urdu as national language (mostly spoken by refugees) provided this newly organized group an upper hand in national cultural matters. However, opposition to his policies forced him to forge a close alliance with the Army elite and later to his assasination in 1953. In 1955, his successive governments forcibly amalgamated all ethnic nationalities of West Pakistan into a single (One Unit) province eliminating all ethnic identities. Under this scheme, merely speaking of the nationalities or their ethnic origins was considered anti-Pakistani and regionalistic. Internal political problems as well as lack of resources delayed the immediate changes in the national curriculum until 1958, when General Ayub Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief took over the reigns of government, when the national social studies curriculum was changed.

Because of the official ban on ethnic identities, the

curriculum of this era disregarded the realities of cultural pluralism and described Pakistan purely in geographical terms with somewhat limited emphasis on Islam. While the previous text books described cultural identities in ethnocultural terms, the new texts descibed cultural realities in terms of location, climate, and religion. The main social studies book of Ayub Khan era states that "...under this religious relationship, all inhabitants of Pakistan have been united and merged into one nation (1958).

Textbooks of this era seem to have demphasized the accounts of indigenous history and culture, and local contributions in the independence movement appear to have been replaced with the history and culture of the central Indian provinces represented by the refugee community in Pakistan. Unlike the texts of previous era which discussed the ancient non-Muslim history of the territory of Pakistan, the new texts discussed the same period of history beginning with the Muslim invasion of the Indian subcontinent, and excluded all references to pre-Muslim history and influence of indigenous institutions. The Indus Valley civilization is usually described as the Sindhu Valley civilization named after its inhabitabts, but the texts of this era refer to it as the Indus civilization of Larkana (the administrative district where it is located). The word Sindh was omitted for its representation of ethnic identity. While detailed accounts of central Indian sociopolitical movements such as the Indian Mutiny, the Khilafat Movement, Devband Movement, and Shah Ahmed Brelvi's anit-Sikh Movement, etc. were thoroughly discussed, similar movements in the actual Pakistani territory were not mentioned. Contributions of

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central Indian Muslim leaders to the educational development were highlighted without a single reference to similar contributions by indigenous leaders.

During this era, Urdu instruction was declared compulsory from the primary level onwards. While Urdu was implemented in the primary and secondary schools of Baluchistan, NWFP, and Punjab, in Bengal and Sindh Urdu instruction was restricted to secondary schools because of the relatively developed level of the Sindhi and Bengali languages. While Urdu was declared compulsory for all, the teaching of local languages to non-speaking residents of the area was non-compulsory, restricting the scope of inter ethnic socialization.

In contrast to the centrifugal tendencies of the previous era, textbooks of this era reflect rigid centripetal tendencies of a coercive nature. The education policy combined with other socioeconomic inequalities strictly halted the process of national political socialization, and added to growing sense of deprivation and frustration enhancing regional nationalism, with specific crossnational ramifications that led to the catastrophic national dismemberment of the Pakistani state in 1971,

The Post-One Unit and Civilian Era took place amidst the celebrations of the decade of "development[5]" in the late 1960's, when the political crises at the national level forced President General Ayub Khan to resign. Realizing the seriousness of the

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[5]"Decade of Development" celebrations refer to the ten years of General Ayub Khan's rule that witnessed several successes and many failures in national socioeconomic and political development.

crisis, his succesor, General Yahya Khan decided to abolish the "One Unit" structure of Pakistan and restablish ethnic identities. Khan Saheb also appointed a Commission of Inquiry to study the educational grievances -the Noor Khan Commission- nationwide. However, in the face of the Bangla Desh civil war, it's recommendations could not be implemented until Pakistan's first elected government under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was established in 1971. The Bhutto government appointed his own commission on education policy reforms. In 1972-73 Bhutto's education policy, based on the recommendations of both reports, brought about considerable changes in the national social studies curriculum and realized the necessity for cultural pluralism. In addition to Urdu as the national language, Bhutto in response to popular demands, encouraged the use of indigenous languages as the official languages in their respective cultural areas, therefore as a medium of instruction from primary to the university level as well. The nationality provincial governments were encouraged to establish their own language development boards/commissions, and at the same time the immigrant groups in Hyderabad and Karachi were provided free instruction to learn the local languages. The development of national languages was accompanied with the recognition of the indigenous history and culture. As such, the social studies texts of this era reflect a revival of cultural pluralism in residuary Pakistan. The new texts portrayed the nation-state of Pakistan by the relatively liberal posture as "Muslim" state rather than the "Islamic " state as did the previous administration. Once again, the historical texts included the accounts of indigenous

contributions to the independence movement. However, unlike the first era, the history of the central Indian provinces was noted a a part of the history of Pakistan. In contrast to the second era, bonds between the various ethnic nationalities were described in pure ethnic rather than geographical terms, and an emphasis on religious ideology was translated and discussed in socioeconomic terms rather than in an orthodox religious context.

While the social studies texts did not mention the contributions of Hindu leaders, references were made to the contributions of Bengali leaders for their contributions in the Pakistan movement. Indigenous educational and religious movements were briefly addresed and the accounts of the central Indian Muslims were highlighted. The Indus valley civilization once again was portrayed as Sindhu civilization rather than of "the district Larkana" as was in the second era.

Social studies textbooks of this era demonstrate a marriage of both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies, reflecting both integrative mechanisms, coerciveness in political aspects, and consensus in cultural and educational matters.

The Post-Civilian Era began with the military coup d'etat by General Zia-ul-Haq against the elected government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in July 1977. Zia-ul-Haq immediately implemented Islamization and portrayed the Pakistan in the strict orthodox notion of an "Islamic State."

Despite the contradictory definitions of Islam among various Pakistani sociocultural groups, Islamization as the functioning

ideology of the ruling elite dominated every sector of society, including the social studies curriculum. Although every new government in Pakistan interpreted Pakistan from its own perspective, General Zia's era apears to have politicized religion and strongly emphasized the existence of Pakistan in terms of the "God's Oneness" and justified its government as "Godly versus the un-Godly government."[6]

Previously, divisions in Pakistani society were addressed either in ethnocultural or in geographical terms, the curriculum of this era appears non-specific concerning the ethno-cultural realities, and emphasized only the Islamic factor. Texts of this era limited the historical background of Pakistan to the Arab conquest of Sindh (the Indian subcontinent) in 713 A.D., and portrayed Muslim Mughul history of India as the history of Pakistan. While the curriculum of civilian era briefly discussed the individual contributions of Pakistani nationalities in the independence movement, the post-civilian era texts mostly excluded. Emphasis on Islam enjoyed high priority as the texts treatment of the Indus Valley civilization suggests. The Pakistan Studies (1982) described this ancient civilization as a part of the Islamic

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[6]"What is the meaning of Pakistan? God is one and alone. The concept of Pakistan was such a fact that everyone understood. Its directmeaning is active Islamic interpretation and its implementation. Pakistan was demanded so that Muslims could live their individual and collective lives according to Islam. Instead of an un-Godly government, they could live their lives under the government of God." (A passage from Pakistan Studies Compulsory, 1982:1) Translated from Urdu language.

heritage: It states:

> The seals found in Mohen -Jo-Daro (ancient ruins of the Indus Valley civilization) are inscribed with writings which have not yet been deciphered by the scholars. These inscriptions tell the story of a 4000 year old (script of) Islamic literature in Pakistan.

Urdu was taught as compulsory at all levels in secondary schools, while the instruction of local languages for non-speaking immigrants was treated non-compulsory. The Sindhi language has been taught to secondary levels in a few local schools, but lack of technical facilities in Baluchi, Pushto, Punjabi, and Siraiki languages have left with limited choices at the cost of not learning their native language. The Baluchi and Pushto populations have continuously expressed their concern on language controversy. The younger Punjabi generation, despite the dominant position of Punjab in the political structure, have deplored the underdevelopment of their own language.

Textbooks of this era apear to resemble the books of the Ayub Khan era with an additional emphasis on Islam, reflecting coercive centripetal tendencies.

The New Civilian Era was ushered in despite considerable opposition by the pro-Islamic Senate inherited from the General Zia Saheb's regime. After the installation the elected government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1989-1991), specific instructions for changes in the national social studies curriculum to redress the problems of interethnic socialization were issued. These however, did not materialize due to her short-lived administration. Her successor, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, though a relatively liberal in posture, appears to be hesitant to make such drastic curriculum changes under the pressure from his political allies of the Islamic parties. As such, the national social studies curriculum of the General Zia era continues to be used as instruction in the schools.

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III. Trend Analysis And Political Socialization:

A content analysis of the Pakistan social studies curriculum was developed to measure socialization trends by analyzing the following variables considered to be important for socialization and national integration:

1. Cultural
2. Economic
3. Educational
4. Historical
5. Islamic Ideology
6. Pakistan Ideology
7. Mythical
8. Political
9. Religious
10. Social

Three time periods were selected in the historical context of Pakistan's politial development influencing major educational changes. These are:

(1) Early Establishment Era (1947-1955) that witnessed the establishment porcess of the new state.

(2) The One Unit Era (1955-1968) that established new patterns of socialization without ethnocultural considerations.

(3) The Post-One Unit Era (1968 to Present) which includes several developments from ideological orientations to the nature of civil-military relations.

An overview of findings' addressed two major questions, first the level of participation of various ethnic nationalities, and secondly, the contributions of social studies curriculum to national integration.

While the variable measurement is analyzed in Table III, the first question can be addressed by summarizing the trend analysis in Tables I and II. A comparative analysis of mean percentile scores in each period are measured in Table IV and illustrate that during the early establishment era the social studies curriculum (although somewhat deficient in overall content) is significantly more positive (25 percent) in its contribution to national cohesion than that of the One-Unit Era, and about 12.5 percent higher that

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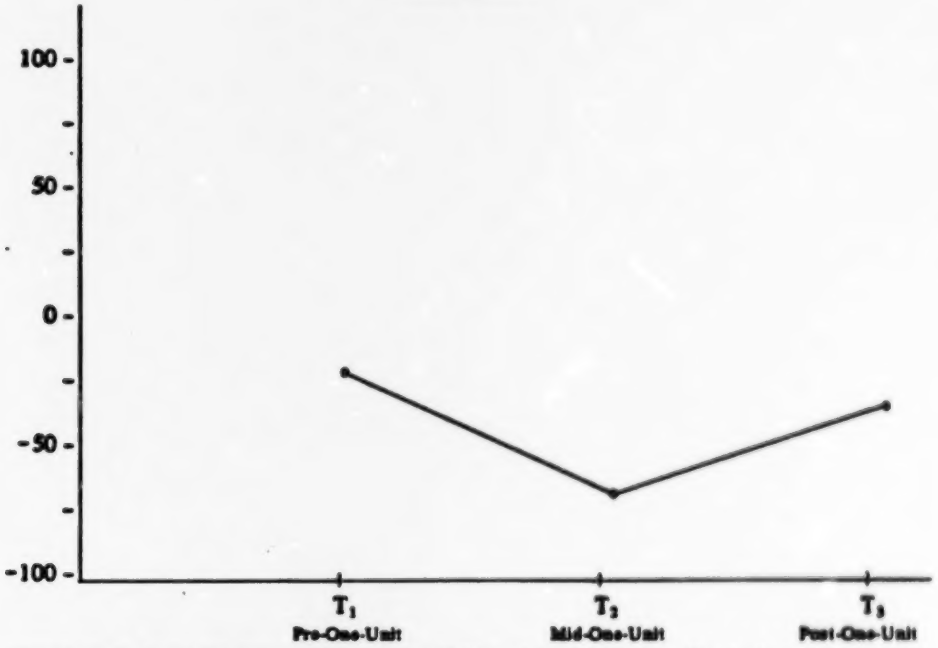
'A detailed content analysis is available in Aftab A. Kazi, "Ethnic Nationalities, Education and Problems of National Integration in Pakistan", Asian Profile, Volume 16, NO. 2, April 1988, pp. 147-161.

Table I

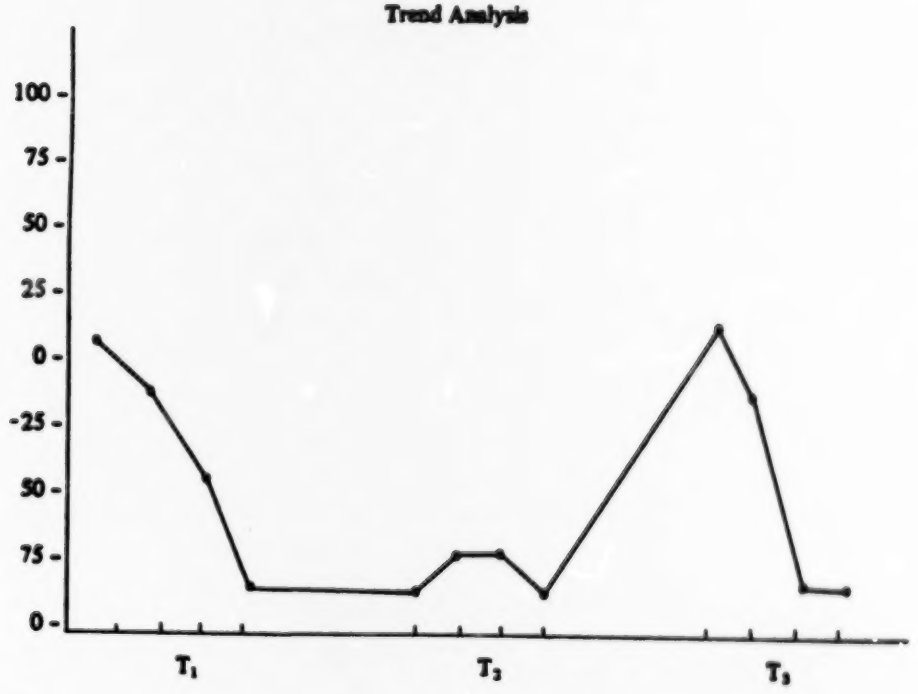
Trend Analysis



(Trend analysis of the mean scores of the Pakistani Social Studies Curriculum for the three time periods under review).

Table II

Trend Analysis



the post One-Unit Era.

Table II reveals the changes that have occured within the individual eras and their correlation with the political culture of that particular time period. The trend in the social studies curriculum during the early days of the first era reflects the exuberant enthusiasm of ethnic nationalities and their participative role in the new state structure amidst the hopeful surroundings of Pakistan's beginnings. The 60 percent positive presentation of integrative variables measured in the texts demonstrates the representation of ethnic nationalities at the cultural, historical, ideological, mythical, religious, and social levels. The textbooks of this era include accounts of overall ethnic representation in the independence movement, their customs and traditions, as well as tolerant attitudes in religious and social interactions with other minority and/or religious groups. The texts also provide equal representation of both Islamic and Pakistan ideologies, and myth history has been positively presented to describe interethnic relations among various nationalities. However, the economic, educational, and political aspects of ethnic nationalities were non-existent in the early texts.

The later part (1950-1955) reflects political changes that took place in Pakistan, i.e. the beginning of the Punjabi-Refugee Alliance that was aimed at detering ethnic participation in the political structure that changed the entire picture of civil-military relations* in Pakistan. The trend during this time period declines sharply and at 10 percent reaches its lowest ebb in 1955, the year the One-Unit scheme was implemented and the autonomy of ethnic nationalities suspended. At this time the sole integrative variable with positive representation in the curriculum was that of the Islamic Ideology, and the concept of Muslim nationalism or Pakistan ideology was transtaled into Islamic nationalism. The

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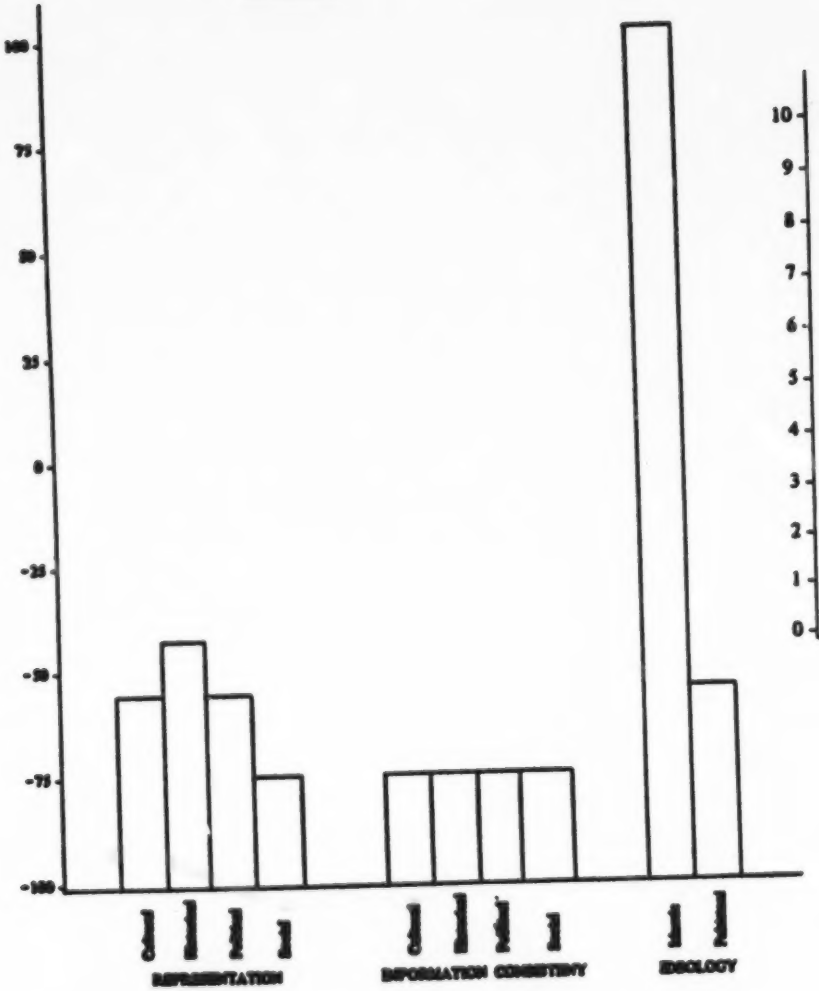
*A detailed study of the Punjabi-Refugee Alliance has been presented in Aftab A. Kazi, The Politics of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan, Thesis, Center for Arms Control & International Security Studies, University of Pittsburgh, USA, 1981.

Table III

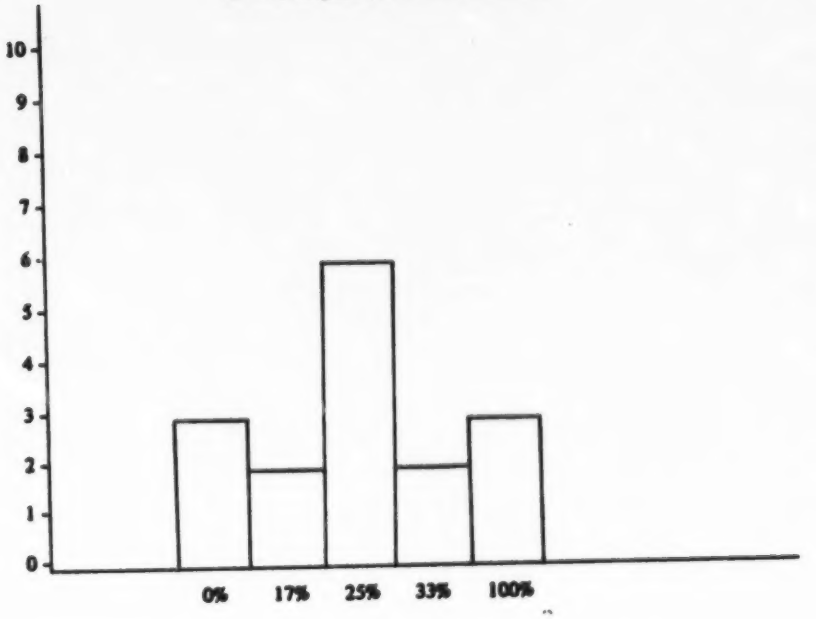
Variable Analysis



Analysis of individual variable percentile scores in the Balanced Social Studies Curriculum.

Table IV

Variable Frequency Percentile Distribution



entire era indicates fluctuations in the representation of integrative variables by 10 to 20 percent. The textbooks of 1965 add the political accounts of the Indo-Pakistan War, while the 1967 texts once again added material on Pakistan ideology, which was deficient between 1950 and 1966. This change is reflective of the regional nationalist movements for the restoration of provincial autonomy and ethnic identities, and on the part of the government reflects recognition of national cohesion as an issue in educaional reform, thus the necessity to revitalize the consensus for Pakistani nationalism.

The Post-One Unit era is divided into three separate time periods for the purpose of analysis. The first period, the immediate post-One Unit era, witnessed the dismemberment of the state in 1971, as indicated by continued low representation of integrative variables in the curriculum measured at 20 percent. Dissolution of the One Unit scheme revitalized the ethnic identities as evidenced by the positive representation of cultural aspects in the curriculum at this time. However, the remaining variables (with the exception of Islamic ideology) were consistently deficient in their representation, reflecting the state of emergency and consequent impact of the Bangla Desh crisis.

In 1972-73, with the introduction of a new educational reform by the then newly installed civilian government, a marked increase is noticeable in the trend of this time period, exhibiting a high percent representation of integrative variables. During the civilian era (1971-1977), attempts were made to repair the damaged sociopolitical fabric of Pakistan by recognizing some sociocultural rights of ethnic nationalities in the 1973 Constitution. An upward trend in the social studies curriculum during the early period of this era indicates official efforts to restore the confidence of ethnic nationalities. However, rather than a political solution to the political problem, the military operation in Baluchistan to contend Baluchi nationalism is still a historically subjective topic and requires active research.

The final period of the last era (1977 to 1989) reflects Islamization policies by the government of General Zia-ul-Haq, as

the curriculum trend deemphasizes the positive representation of the majority of the integrative variables, and instead re-emphasizes Islamic ideology at the cost of Pakistan ideology. The sharp decline in the trend line suggests the control over ethnocultural provincial autonomy, and of mounting differences between expectations and achievements of Pakistani nationalities.

The second research question, i.e., the contribution of the uniformed social studies curriculum to national integration is addressed by the representation analysis of integrative variables in Table III. While nine of the ten variables reviewed in the texts were found to be deficient in representation, only the variable of Islamic ideology was found to be 100 percent positively emphasized in all texts analyzed. Particularly deficient were the economic and educational variables scoring a zero percent representation in each of the text reviewed.

As mentioned above, no significant educational reform was implemented in the social studies curriculum during the sixteen month long government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto or even by her successor Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef. Thus, the Islamization trends of General Zia regime continue to persist in the national social studies curriculum.

IV. Conclusion and Recommendation for Educational Reform:

The case of Pakistan is a unique example in nation and state-building processes in the Cold War era. While the political system of Pakistan resembles that of the other developing societies, it aslo provides the only example of system failure in the Cold War era, i.e. the dismemberment in 1971. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union represent other examples of system failure in the post Cold War era. Most modern federations in fact have operated in an imperial manner and under internal colonialism relying on coercive rather than the consensual measures. The Pakistani case offers a good example of education policy as an indicator of inequality controversy in other policy area. This analysis suggests that a single depiction of values and perceptions in a multiethnic society can grossly affect student's national and global perspectives.

Distortions and misrepresentations of objective realities in the curriculum are incompatible with the information which students acquire formally and non-formally at home. The problems of acuracy and information consistency in social studies curriculum is treated as a deliberate effort to delink Pakistani nationalities from their recent history. Consequently many appear to have distanced themselves from the official images of the society. An interesting example is the credibility crisis Islamic Ideology is now facing compared to its previously important role. Ethnonational trends suggests that the ethnic nationalities of Pakistan express their Muslim identity in their own ethnocultural ways.

This analysis suggests that since Socialism policy as a non-representative instrument of socialization mis-delineated the political system. An equitable portrayal of indigenous nationalities in the integrative sphere is a necessity for maintaining the consensus for Pakistani nationalism.

Moreover, considering the present state of Pakistan's sociopolitical culture, and the role ethnicity plays in the geopolitical equation of southern Asia, a major sociopolitical reformation of Pakistan must be in order, without which educational reform may not be helpful in achieving desired goals. It suggests that the ethnocultural identities are more durable than the nation-state identity simply because of the logic of historical evolution and not political calculation. Alienation of ethnic nationalities in educational, political,and socioeconomic areas revives the ideologies of regionalism, crime and violence (armed robberies for ransom in Sindh that now are spreading all over Pakistan), cultural identification which might be viewed and dismissed as a temporary aberration of radical elements, thus a task for the army, police, and other para-military forces rather than something to be dealt with by social scientists.

The Cold War education socialization policies, despite limited achievements suggest that the "ethnoculturally oriented" and not simply the culturally pluralistic strategies of national development and social reordering are crucial for an effective national state-building. Many in the developing societies have

learned the concept of state-building in the United States. However, their is a fundamental difference in the perception of state in the industrially advanced societies as opposed to the realities of Asian, African, and Latin American societies. American states are not states in the sense that Britain and France in Europe, and India, Pakistan or Nigeria in Asia and Africa are. American states are regions with different self-images, origins, racial distribution, and culture, and the inhibitants of American states have relatively greater mobility within and among the states as compared to their Asian and African counterparts. Thus the concept of culturally pluralistic society is rather different in other societies including Europe, where ethnocultural loyalties dominate the national political scence. Developing societies have yet to achieve their nationhood and with their current political culture level are more or less unstable political units still in the proces of educational and political institution-building. Continuous survival with coercive means can result in the fall of state as an institution. East European and Soviet examples offer meaningful insights.

The post-Cold War trends towards democratization (democracy in this sense should not be confused with majority rule, but the rule by parity, thus the resolution of conflict), political and structural decentralization, and revitalization of cultural political legitimacy, which require new patterns of national socialization. The following recommendations for educational and cultural reform has the potential to revitalize the processes of national integration and cohesion in Pakistan.

1. The social studies curriculum should adapt the realities ethnoculturalism and portray all nationalities in an equitable way, according to their cultural, historical, and political backgrounds. The curriculum should also highlight acounts of positive social interaction among various nationalities and their intercultural influences over each other.

2. Decolonization of curriculum with emphasis on the contribution of indigenous national groups in the political struggle and their participation at the various levels of national

development in Pakistan, is esential and could be utilized for building a national consensus for unity.

3. The information provided in the national curriculum must be consistent, and the textbooks should make every attempt to represent the actual historical events and background factually.

4. Since perceptions of the ruling elite about Pakistan ideology and Islamic ideology remain confusing, it is advisable that a demarcation be drawn in the curriculum between the two ideologies. Islamic ideology may be limited to the religious studies curriculum providing both orthodox and liberal persepctives simultaneously (for a broader and balanced presentation of materials), and Pakistan ideology (Muslim/Pakistan nationalism) should be included in the curriculum. This arrangement will leave little room for confusion.

5. In order to maintain a balance of power in society, the political system should be reformed to provide relatively equal representation of all political groups in society in all institutions.

6. Most important. In order to make indigenous nationalities feel a part of the political system and proud of their cultural heritage, in addition to Urdu, all languages of Pakistani nationalities, i.e. Baluchi, Punjabi, Pushto, Sindhi, and Siraiki, etc. should be declared as national languages of Pakistan, and all non-speakers in particular ethnic areas should be required to have compulsory training in the local languages.

7. In order to implement reforms along these lines a Ministry of Ethnic and Cultural Affairs should be established. With the reemergence of ethnocultural trends in the newly emerging world order, it appears that most overseas donor agencies, who in the past have learned to adapt culturally appropriate technologies for development, might emphasize ethnocultural development as a necessary condition for delopment assistance. The establishment of a Ministry of Ethnic and Cultural Affairs could be an important step towards that direction.

There are no final answers to modern sociopolitical dilemmas. These suggestions may not guarantee an overall success, however,

problems will not be resolved until positive and serious attempts are made to address them. Moreover, in the US a growing importance of ethnonational factors in international relations and development assistance may also require a reevaluation of the operational methodologies in international development education.

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In addition Related Sets of Social Studies Textbooks taught in Pakistan Secondary Schools from 1947 to 1989.

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